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REMARKS
ON THE
GENERAL ORDERS
OF THE
DUKE OF YORK
TO
HIS ARMY.

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REMARKS
ON THE
GENERAL ORDERS
OF THE
DUKE OF YORK
TO
HIS ARMY,
ON

JUNE 7, 1794.

BY GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A.

LATE FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Therefore, thou art inexcusable, O! man, whosoever thou art
that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest
thyself; for thou, that judgest, doest the same things.

ST. PAUL.

————— Non ulla laborum
O! virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit:
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum antè peregi.

VIRGIL.

————— civis erat, qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero.

JUVENAL.

LONDON:

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1794.

ευδεμῖαν πῶ, Κυρὺν, ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὠλεσαν ἀνδρες·
ἀλλ', ὅτ' ἀν' ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσι ἄδη,
δημὸν τε φθειρῶσι, δικὰς τ' ἀδικοῖσι δίδωσιν,
οἰκείων κερδεῶν εἵνεκα καὶ κρατεῖ,·
ἐλπῶε μὴ δῆρον κείνην πόλιν ἀτρεμεεσθαι,
μῆδ' εἰ νῦν κείται πολλὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ,
εὐτ' ἀν' τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνδράσι ταῦτα γενήσῃ
κερδεά, δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῷ ἐρχόμενα·
ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στασίς ἐστίν, καὶ ἐμφυλοὶ φονοὶ ἀνδρῶν·
μουνάρχῳ δὲ πόλει μὴ ποτε τῆδε ἄδοι.

THEOGNIS.

GENERAL ORDERS
OF
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF YORK.

Dated Tournay, the 7th of June, 1794.

“ HIS Royal Highness the Duke of York thinks
“ it incumbent on him to announce to the British
“ and Hanoverian troops under his command,
“ that the National Convention of France, pur-
“ suing that gradation of crimes and horrors
“ which has distinguished the period of its Go-
“ vernment, as the most calamitous of any that
“ has yet occurred in the history of the world,
“ has just passed a decree, “ That their soldiers
“ shall give no quarters to the British or Hano-
“ verian troops.”

“ His Royal Highness anticipates the indigna-
“ tion and horror which will naturally arise in the
“ minds of the brave troops which he addresses,
“ upon receiving this information. His Royal

" Highness desires, however, to remind them, that
 " mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in
 " the foldier's character, and he exhorts them all
 " not to suffer their resentment to lead them
 " to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part,
 " which may fully the reputation they have ac-
 " quired in the world.

" His Royal Highness believes it will be diffi-
 " cult for brave men to conceive, that any set of
 " men, who are themselves exempt from sharing
 " in the dangers of war, should be so base and
 " cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities
 " of it upon the unfortunate people who are sub-
 " ject to their orders. It was indeed reserved for
 " the present times, to produce to the world the
 " possibility of the existence of such atrocity and
 " infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree,
 " even if founded on truth, could justify it only
 " to minds similar to those of the members of the
 " National Convention; but is, in fact, too ab-
 " surd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted.
 " The French must themselves see through the
 " flimsy artifice of a pretended assassination, by
 " which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring
 " that military guard, which has at once establish-
 " ed him the successor of the unfortunate Louis,
 " by whatever name he may chuse to dignify his
 " future reign.

“ In all the wars, which from the earliest times
 “ have existed between the British and French
 “ nations; they have been accustomed to consider
 “ each other in the light of generous as well as
 “ brave enemies; while, the Hanoverians, for a
 “ century the allies of the former, have shared in
 “ this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness
 “ have at all times taken place when opposition
 “ has ceased, and the same cloaths have been
 “ seen covering wounded enemies, while indiscrimi-
 “ nately conveying to the hospital of the con-
 “ queror. The British and Hanoverian armies
 “ will not believe that the French nation, even
 “ under their present infatuation, can so far for-
 “ get their characters as soldiers, as to pay any
 “ attention to a decree as injurious to themselves
 “ as it was disgraceful to the persons who passed
 “ it. In this confidence, his Royal Highness
 “ trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will con-
 “ fine their sentiments of resentment and abhor-
 “ rence to the National Convention alone; per-
 “ suaded that they will be joined in them by every
 “ Frenchman, who possesses one spark of honour,
 “ or one principle of a soldier. His Royal High-
 “ ness is confident that it will only be on finding,
 “ contrary to every expectation, that the French
 “ army has relinquished every title to the fair cha-
 “ racter of soldiers and of men, by submitting to
 “ and obeying so atrocious an order, that the

“ brave troops under his command will think
 “ themselves justified, and indeed under the ne-
 “ cessity of themselves adopting a species of war-
 “ fare, for which they will then stand acquitted to
 “ their own consciences, to their country, and to
 “ the world. In such an event, the French army
 “ alone will be answerable for the tenfold ven-
 “ geance which will fall upon themselves, their
 “ wives, their children, and their unfortunate
 “ country, already groaning under every calamity
 “ which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled
 “ ambition and avarice can heap upon their de-
 “ voted victims.

“ His Royal Highness desires, that these orders
 “ may be read and explained to them at three
 “ successive roll-callings.

AN

EXAMINATION, &c.

MEETING unexpectedly with a little leisure, during an interval of a short excursion into the country, it occurred to my mind, that a few hours could not be more profitably and honourably employed, than in some short comments on "the orders of the Duke of York," lately delivered to his army; which were brought to my knowledge by the *London Evening Post* at that time. To many, no doubt, the *profit* of such an employment with respect to the end in view, the melioration of the public mind, may well be disputed, amidst such a general infatuation and thirst for blood, to the scandal, I do not say of religion, which has no residence among us, but of all rationality and human feeling: the *honour*, however, which is claimed by the advocat  of liberty and justice, "fallen on such evil times and evil

"tongues,"

“tongues,” will be denied by none, who are not themselves plunged in the corruptions of the reigning system : and the disapprobation of such degenerate unhappy beings were the highest praise. It is almost impossible for one, zealously interested in the moral and intellectual improvement of his species, to detach his thoughts for a single moment from the tremendous and wonderful transactions now passing before his eyes : transactions, which swell to my imagination into a magnitude of importance above any similar passages since the commencement of human agency. It was a crisis of extraordinary apprehension, when the *Persian* army was encamped on the plains of *Marathon*. On the issue of that contest the civilization of Europe might be justly presumed to depend. It was highly probable, that *Athens*, the preceptress of nations, the nurse of patriots, the parent of liberty and letters, would be instantly trampled under foot, before the birth of her numerous band of heroes, by a ruffian multitude of slaves and barbarians. But the alternative of the present contest is infinitely more momentous : nothing less to my expectation, than a relapse of the whole human race, after a taste, however precarious and inadequate, of the sweets of freedom, into primæval barbarism, aggravated by all the bitterness of despondency and disappointment ; into a condition, absolutely intolerable

lerable to generous spirits ! of most abject abasement beneath the scourge of military despotism. Though, however, it be as true as it is deplorable, that my countrymen for the present have rendered themselves up, unreflecting dupes, to fictitious alarms and sanguinary projects, and seem alike incapable and unworthy of admonition * ; the sagacity of human foresight must never presume, and much less amidst such a complication of mighty operations, to pronounce on the efficacy of *means*, ever so weak and trivial in appearance, to the accomplishment of *any* purpose : and in the most unpromising conjuncture of affairs, it is the positive indispensable duty of every individual, who professes “ to obey God rather than men†,” to attend the dictates of his conscience, to follow the impulse of his conviction, and to employ that remnant of liberty, which, not the patriotism and liberality, but the timidity and selfishness of his rulers, still condescend to yield him, in illuminating the ignorance, in checking the depravity, in rousing the sottishness,

* ——— ibi hæc incondita solus
Montibus et silvis studio jactabat inani. Virgil.

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness.
Isaiah xl. 3.

† Acts v. 29.

and disabusing the infatuation of his fellow-citizens.

“ His Royal Highness the Duke of York thinks
 “ it incumbent on him to announce to the British
 “ and Hanoverian troops under his command,
 “ that the National Convention of France, pur-
 “ suing that gradation of crimes and horrors
 “ which has distinguished the period of its Go-
 “ vernment, as the most calamitous of any that
 “ has yet occurred in the history of the world,
 “ has just passed a decree, “ That their soldiers
 “ shall give no quarters to the British or Hano-
 “ verian troops.”

The purport of the old *Latin* adage,

“ ——— non videmus manticæ quid in tergo est,”
 more forcibly represented in *eastern* phraseology,
 “ Why beholdest thou the *mote*, that is in thy bro-
 “ ther’s eye, but considerest not the *beam*, that is in
 “ thine own eye:” the purport, I say, of these
 proverbs, has long testified the sorrow of the
 moralist at contemplating the blind partiality of
 human nature. “ That gradation of crimes and
 “ horrors, which has distinguished *every* period
 “ of the *British* government,” has lately been set
 forth with admirable energy and irresistible truth
 in *Barrere’s* vindication of the dreadful orders
 in

in question ; and was slightly touched by myself on a late occasion : * this topic, therefore, of inconsiderate recrimination, as a mere *argumentum ad verecundiam*, shall pass unnoticed. Now in contemplating such an extraordinary fact, as this, which occasioned these orders of the Duke, a philosophical reader naturally looks beyond the superficial veil of illogical declamation in pursuit of a satisfactory and sufficient cause ; upon no unreasonable postulatam, that creatures of the same divine artificer are operated on by motives similar to those of other men : since to pronounce their conduct fortuitous and irrational, would rather be deemed a demonstration of *our own* folly. And the cause is obvious to the slightest investigation. For what effrontery will dare to deny, what has been frequently alledged with every shew of reason and every analogy to experience, that the bloody threats, the diabolical machinations †, the insatiable havoc, the destructive treachery, the unceasing execrations, dispensed by the ministers of the combined potentates and their infuriate soldiery, furnish an adequate solution ‡ of a measure, which

some

* See page 26 of "the Spirit of Christianity compared with the Spirit of the Times."

† Such as an attempt to starve the whole mass of a most populous nation : the most infernal project upon record in the history of man !

‡ It is a plain and indisputable rule of philosophy,

C

physical

some minds affect to regard as so strangely problematical? Was it a singularity to presume, is it a prodigy to admire, if every outrageous passion of humanity be called forth, if every indignant principle of the heart be forced into action, by an impious effort to bring back to slavery a numerous and potent nation determined to be free? And shall encreasing energies in a cause like this be profaned with the vile denomination of " crimes and horrors?" Is it a rational subject of indignation, if self-defence and self-preservation give rise to various irregularities, in such circumstances, with men debased in their sentiments and degraded in their intellect, by the contaminating influence of an arbitrary monarchy? Shall we call out, in horror and astonishment, upon Gods and men, if a stream, pent up for ages, is become, by a sudden rupture of it's boundaries, an undistinguishing torrent of desolation? What enormities may not even human beings be induced to commit in their attempts to divert an instrument of death from their own bosoms? And is this a reason, I say, for such solemnity of protestation? I mean to state the question only, and not to extenuate or justify every atrocity of the *French Republicans*. But it is not always those,

physical and moral, not to admit any cause beyond what is sufficient to explain the phænomenon: Newton's princip. lib. iii. init.

who

who bewail such horrors in the most pathetic terms, that would be the most backward to commit them. *Alexander*, king of the *Pheræans**, a most savage and unrelenting tyrant, was surprised into tears at a scenical representation of calamity, whilst he was tormenting and sacrificing his people daily without one sensation of uneasiness. A speculative condemnation of cruelties is but an equivocal evidence of a disposition truly compassionate and human. I should abhor myself, as a character completely brutalised, if I did not contemplate with feelings undefinable by language, those executions, and particularly of the females, which have stained the scaffolds of *France*: but I should despise myself no less, as a prejudiced and sottish being, if I did not acknowledge my own nation to be principally accessory to this prodigious guilt. I may, perhaps, lay claim without affectation, to some additional poignancy of feeling on this occasion, from sentiments not embraced by the generality of mankind; from a persuasion, that the life of man cannot be sacrificed by a sentence of deliberate justice in *any* circumstances, for any political offence whatsoever, not even murder, except possibly in most peculiar and special instances, without a blasphemous defiance of the supremacy of God, the sole giver and disposer of

* *Ælian*. var. hist. xxxix. 40.

this inestimable gift.* A want of due veneration for that sacred emanation from the fountain of underived and eternal spirit, forms a most striking feature in the portraiture of sin, exhibited in most prominent display by our merciless and abandoned nation. We tie up a fellow creature with as little indifference, as if he were a being of an inferior order, on the most trivial pretences, and

* “What shall a man give in exchange for his life?”
Matt. xvi. 26. and so *Homer*, in a divine passage, Il. I. 401.

Ου γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀνταξίον, οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν
 Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι εὐναιομένον πτόλιεθρον,
 Τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης πρὶν ελθεῖν υἱᾶς Ἀχαιῶν·
 Οὐδ' ὅσα λαῖγος ἔδ' αἰφ' ἀφ' ἡτορὸς ἐντὸς ἑργεῖ
 Φοῖβου Ἀπολλωνοῦ, Πυθοὶ ἐνὶ πέτρῃεσσι.
 Ληῖστοι μὲν γὰρ τέ βοες καὶ πionoα μῆλα,
 Κτήτοιο δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἰππων ξανθὰ κερῖνα·
 Ἄνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ελθεῖν οὔτε ληῖσ' ἴη,
 Οὐθ' ἔλετη, ἔπει αἶψα κεν ἀμειψεται ἔρκος ὁδόνων.

The former half of the following translation of these inimitable verses is from Pope, the latter is my own.

Life is not to be bought with heaps of gold :
 Not all Apollo's Pythian treasures hold,
 Or Troy once held, in peace and pride of sway,
 Can bribe the poor possession of a day.
 Rich herds and flocks successful rapine gains,
 Victorious steeds and tripods gold obtains :
 But breath nor force redeems nor treasures buy,
 If through the barrier of the teeth it fly.

for the flightest crimes.* The plea of self-preservation may very justly be used in vindication of the *French*; and yet, to one possessed of my opinions, a contemplation of *their* conduct is unsupportably affecting: with what additional horror then, a horror proportioned to the multitude of victims, must he, convinced of the indefensible iniquity of their cause, reflect on the havoc made by the confederates; when the death of every *Frenchman* in regular battle becomes a murder, in his judgement, of the most wanton and atrocious character; and a sin of an infinitely deeper die, than the determination so much complained of, a refusal of quarter to the unauthorized assailants of their life, their property, their liberty, and their country? The hearts of kings, generally speaking, are not accessible but through the medium of suffering and complaining subjects: and what minister, what general, what foldier, of the combined armies, without an insufferable inconsistency, can throw the first stone at the National Convention,

* When *Mirabeau* was in *England* about *nine* years ago, he asked a friend of mine, with whom he was dining, if it were true, that *twenty* young men had been hanged that morning at *Newgate*. When my friend told him, that, if the daily papers asserted it, there was no reason to doubt the assertion, he replied with great warmth and surprise, that “The *English* were the most merciless people he had ever heard, or read of, in his life.”

and

and think their instruments of vengeance reasonably censurable, on any principles that regulate the present nefarious systems of human governments, should they carry fire and sword in every direction; whilst their ferocious and uninjured enemies continue their depredations, and menace their governors and government with extirpation? No case, in my estimation, can be more undisputable and unequivocal: and who can endure the professors of *slaughter* to talk of *inhumanity*?

But, waving these discussions, let me propose another case to the consideration of the reader.—Whatever the enormities of the Republicans may have been, whatever the ferocity of their dispositions, if we survey, on *one* side, every species of intestine commotion, every form of danger from external enemies and royalists at home, by which the whole fabric of the human constitution becomes of necessity, as it were, ignited, and his intellect sublimed into a furious enthusiasm; and if we contemplate, on the other, a long and undisturbed possession of power, additionally fortified by the concurrence of alarmed partisans to *Church and King*, in unison with a pretended affection for a limited monarchy and a free constitution: I scruple not to assert, that no man upon any principle, not declaratory of intellectual perversity, can possibly believe, that the same people and their votaries,

votaries, who could sentence *Winterbottom* to *Newgate*, *Falmer*, *Muir*, and the delegates, to *Botany-Bay*, for such offences*, of which some of our approving ministers have heretofore been guilty†, did not thereby in reality display a ferocity of a perfectly similar complexion, a ferocity accurately proportionate in it's kind, and only requiring similar circumstances, (which are matter of accidental occurrence) to equal even in degree the savage operations of these detested *French*. For myself, I feel no difficulty in making this assertion in the most explicit terms, and will defend it, as an inference truly rational and philosophical, as the words "of truth and soberness," in the face of all mankind.

*. ἐν ἐκ τῆς ἀξιοῦ τοῦ κόσμου. In *terre cavernis* delitescabant, quibus dignus non erat mundus: qui meliore mundo digni. "They wandered about, and lived in dens" "and caverns of the earth," of whom the world was not "worthy.

Magnanimi herōes!
sit anima mea vobiscum! *Toupius* in *Suidam*.

† Εχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνῳ ὅμως αἰδοῦ πύλησιν,
Ὅς χ' ἑτέρων μὲν κευθῇ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βαλῇ.

Iliad, I. 312.

Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell.

POPE.

The

The different judgements, which national acrimony, deluded interest, and ignorant prejudice, incline us to pass on actions virtually congenial and correspondent, resembles that diversity of fortune attendant on the lives of characters intrinsically the same:

Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.

Ah! how unlike, reformers! is your fate:
This to *New-Holland*, to th' *Exchequer* that!

By one end of the magic glass a puny *Jacobin* is enlarged to a portentous monster of unnatural barbarity: reverse it, and the vastness of ministerial atrocity shrinks into retributive justice, constitutional attachment, and a laudable animosity against republicans and levellers!

“ His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which will naturally arise in the minds of the brave troops which he addresses, upon receiving this information.”

But let us suppose a character of pacific principles, a man of reflexion, a philosopher, a christian, permitted to address the soldiery, when the Duke had finished his harangue: is it not probable, that this “indignation and horror,” would be materially abated, or rather entirely superseded by sensations of an opposite and more gentle nature, upon a more accurate statement of the
respective

respective condition of the parties? "Men and
 "brethren," we might conceive this civilized
 orator to say; "the king of kings," the supreme
 "and only potentate,"* "the high and lofty one
 "that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy; †
 "created "of one blood" ‡ all the inhabitants
 "of the earth, to associate and harmonize in fra-
 "ternal intercourse with sentiments of love and
 "acts of service, as becomes creatures of the same
 "passions and affections, children of one common
 "parent. That order and coincidence, so con-
 "spicuous in the mutual accommodation of the
 "divine works to the exigencies of each other,
 "and their adaptation to the benevolent purposes
 "of his administration, in conjunction with the
 "experimental felicities that flow from union, and
 "the miseries of discord, both in the material
 "and moral constitution of the universe, dictate
 "a perpetual lesson, intelligible throughout the
 "globe, of sympathy, benevolence, and kindness.
 "Wars and animosities are not rendered by their
 "frequency, we may be sure, more trivial inter-
 "ruptions of universal harmony, less criminal
 "violations of the law of God. The Saviour of
 "mankind, ratifying the decrees of reason, and
 "rectifying those obliquities, which depravity had
 "introduced into life, dissevers of course from

* 1 Tim. vi. 15. † Isaiah, lvii. 15. ‡ Acts, xvii. 26.

“ the fellowship of his body every member, sus-
 “ ceptible of habitual ill-will, and systematical
 “ animosity, to individuals or nations; for the
 “ basis of his religion are reciprocal service and
 “ brotherly affection. Can it be doubted, there-
 “ fore, that the *military volunteer*, who crosses the
 “ ocean in quest of blood, “breathing out threat-
 “ enings and slaughter” * against his brethren,
 “ not only breaks the sacred bonds of human con-
 “ sanguinity, but abjures in a supereminent degree
 “ all communion with “the prince of peace †,”
 “ and defies the Omnipotent himself to arms?
 “ These primary and essential constitutions of
 “ truth and nature, established by the Divinity,
 “ no civil establishments can supersede, no will of
 “ kings and princes, fellow-reptiles ‡ of the ground!
 “ can abrogate or suspend; no precedents can
 “ justify. Hostility to *man* ever was, and ever
 “ must be, hostility to God himself. You will be
 “ told of a *just* and *necessary war* in defiance of
 “ religion, though this war be prosecuted by
 “ insulting and defying *all* religion and morality:
 “ and much must it be lamented, that the degraded
 “ condition of your intellects, and the perpetual

* Acts, ix. i. † Isaiah, ix. 6.

‡ Οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι πρὸς ἐστὶν οἰζυρωτέρον ἀνδρῶν
 Παντῶν, ὅσα τε γαίαν ἐπιπνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

Homer, I. P. 446.

“ deceptions,

“ deceptions, which are practised upon your ig-
 “ norant credulity, disable you from judging even
 “ in the clearest cases, and dispose you to acqui-
 “ escence in any representation of your interested
 “ employers. Alas! the corruption of human
 “ governments looks for assistance and support
 “ from your furious and malignant *passions*; and
 “ sees it's own destruction in the cultivation of
 “ your understandings and the melioration of
 “ your hearts. But, if the war *be* just and neces-
 “ sary, in assertion of your religion and liberties
 “ and laws; to secure these objects, must you tra-
 “ verse the seas? to defend yourselves, must you
 “ seize by treachery the towns of the republicans,
 “ burn their property, lay waste their provinces,
 “ and meditate the total extermination of their
 “ race by famine and the sword, in co-operation
 “ with hired assassins in every part of *Europe*?
 “ The situation wherein you find yourselves, is
 “ truly terrible, in the eye of reason and religion.
 “ Those exploits, for which you receive reward
 “ and praise, should make you shudder through
 “ every fibre of your frames; and, were you
 “ actuated by the genuine sensations of *men* and
 “ *christians*, no earthly considerations whatsoever,
 “ no profits, no applauses, not even the purchase
 “ of ten thousand lives, could prevail upon you
 “ to destroy a *brother*. In that bitter extremity

“ of your affairs, which will speedily come upon
 “ you, how will you raise for mercy to the throne
 “ of God, hands stained with the slaughter of his
 “ children?—Hear him speaking to you by his
 “ prophet: “ When ye spread forth your hands, I
 “ will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye
 “ make many prayers I will not hear: your hands
 “ are full of blood.” *

“ His Royal Highness desires, however, to re-
 “ mind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the
 “ brightest gem in the soldier’s character; and he
 “ exhorts them all not to suffer their resentment
 “ to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on
 “ their part, which may sully the reputation they
 “ have acquired in the world.”

Could I grant the ministerial *postulatum* that
 “ the war is just and necessary,” nothing could
 be more commendable, than this language of the
 Duke; infinitely more honourable to him than
 all the titles and dignity of his birth and station.
 Such reflexions and such feelings want only a just
 cause to complete their merit. Similar admoni-
 tion, in the mouth of a *French* republican, were
 the consummation of human virtue.

“ His Royal Highness believes it will be diffi-
 “ cult for brave men to conceive, that any set of
 “ men, who are themselves exempt from sharing

* Isaiah, i. 15.

“ in the dangers of war, should be so base and
 “ cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities
 “ of it upon the unfortunate people who are sub-
 “ ject to their orders.”

If a satisfactory conclusion may be deduced from the report of ministerial gazettes, the dangers of a military life are trivial in the extreme, and the hazard of personal safety in regular battles almost visionary. We have lately read in these authorised oracles of political truth, that a large body of men, after a long exposure to a most formidable cannonade and a bold assault, came off with *two* of their number slain, and *three* wounded*. Be this, however, as it may, who shall deny the situation of the *French* convention to be most truly formidable; encompassed with every danger, that can alarm the feelings of mortality? And this must be true in a more especial manner, if the continued assertions of Church-and-King associators may be credited, that an audacious oligarchy has usurped by violence a tyrannical authority, against the wishes of the majority of the people. Assassination and popular tumult must, in this case, be the subject of daily apprehension: and inevitable destruction must be their portion, on that *future*

* The hyperbolical assertion of the deputies with the army before *Toulon* was reversed in favour of the *British* troops at large: “ The balls of the despots revered the
 “ representatives of the people.”

day, when the armies of these miscreants shall be annihilated by the might of the confederate crusaders under the banners of Heaven; whose favour will undoubtedly lead to victory these immaculate champions of religion, these disinterested advocates of liberty, law, and happiness; these true friends, these best benefactors, of the human race!

Dr. Fortin has somewhere remarked, that *Luther*, by going to the diet of *Worms*, manifested more courage, than *Alexander* and *Julius Cæsar* put together ever exhibited: and *Malice* herself must allow the present situation of *Robespierre* to be abundantly more awful, than that of any soldier, and most certainly of any *general*, in all the hosts of the allies. Surely then a dispassionate judgement and a love of veracity will pause at an assertion, which makes him and his colleagues “base and cowardly, exempt from sharing in the dangers of war;” by whatever authority such assertion may be promulgated. That extraordinary man just mentioned, to borrow his own comparison, conceived with the genuine sublimity of *Milton* the republican, may be truly said to “stride a Volcano.” Besides, is it not notorious, that individual members of the National Convention accompany their armies in the field, and their navies on the ocean; braving alike the swords and dungeons of the merciless tyrants on the

the continent, and sharing hardship with the meanest citizen? A conventional deputy, distinguished by his scarf and leading his gallant countrymen to battle, in vindication of all that is valuable to rational existence, constitutes, in my humble opinion, one of the sublimest spectacles that mortality can exhibit*: a spectacle, before whose brilliancy the figure of a mean, intriguing, mercenary†, self-opiniated minister wanes into insignificance. The reflection of his Royal Highness is certainly applicable, in the strictest sense and the fullest latitude, to our wordy warriors at home, the multitudinous herd of ministerial pensioners and associated placemen, who are perpetually making, with most zealous cordiality, a gracious tender of their *lives* and *fortunes* in his majesty's service; but, instead of giving efficacy to their professions, riot in luxury and dissipation; whilst their deluded myrmidons are abetting in the field, at the risk of life, their sacrilegious attempts to extinguish freedom in *France* and establish tyranny in *Britain*‡.

“ The French must themselves see through the
“ flimsy artifice of a pretended assassination, by

* Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat, intentus operi suo Deus. *Seneca*.

† δημοβόρος θεράπων ἔπει εὐδανοῖσι ἀνασσει.

‡ ——— delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. *Hor.*

“ which

“ which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring
 “ that military guard, which has at once establish-
 “ ed him the successor of the unfortunate Louis,
 “ by whatever name he may chuse to dignify his
 “ future reign.”

Though I cannot discover in what respect the suborning of an assassin to murder an individual is a less heinous crime, than a plan of famishing *twenty-five millions* of men, women and children; I am indeed inclined to acquit the government of this country of such a horrid charge, and to presume, that this plea of assassination was incompetent to justify this desperate decree of the Convention: but I feel perfectly sceptical * in whatever concerns the vindication of the *British* ministry in this dreadful war; when so many overt acts of unquestionable character ratify condemnation. It may be doubted also, whether the impartiality of the *Post-office*, though so fully occupied in the laudable employment of examining private letters, permit the genuine *Paris* papers to the perusal of the public: whether the proceedings of the National Convention be not dispensed to us in a mangled and mutilated state, in conformity to the same spirit of artifice, which is propagating by the basest instruments every means of irritation and deception through the country. It is at least

* Ναφε, και μεμνας' απιστειν αρθρα ταυτα των φρενων:
 is a noble caution of *Epichormus*.

my decided conviction, (I may be thought singular, but it is my decided conviction) derived from premises perfectly reasonable and perspicuous, that this plea of assassination, however prominent, can strictly be regarded as one inducement only, in consequence of an accumulation of motives gradually collecting from a long series of the most virulent insults and inflammatory provocations, to this sanguinary determination of refusing quarter. A particle of sand may give preponderance to a balance already in *æquilibrio*; and then that particle is the countervailing weight. Our humane ministers and their partisans, with an excess of idiotism equalled only by the wickedness of the threat, hold out the extermination of the *Jacobins* and the overthrow of the present governors in *France*, as the object of their confederacy. While this is the language of our parliamentary declaimers, can we wonder at the *Convention* resolving to shew no mercy to the merciless? Can their armies be blamed, without impudent inconsistency, for imitating the example of their most unrighteous persecutors, who grow tyrannical and outrageous in proportion to the desperation of their cause?

———— Eheu!

Quàm temerè in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!

Besides, this attempt to disparage *Robespierre* in the estimation of the republicans, by the reproach of "a military guard," is at once impotent and ungenerous. Will that guard secure him from the vengeance of his countrymen, myriads of heroes in arms! if he forfeit their esteem, and betray his trust? And, in the mean time, the *French* people entertain too just and grateful an opinion of the services of intrepid patriotism, to be duped by a flimsy artifice of his baffled and enraged enemies.

"The British and Hanoverian armies will not
 "believe that the French nation, even under their
 "present infatuation, can so far forget their cha-
 "racters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a
 "decree as injurious to themselves as it was dis-
 "graceful to the persons who passed it. In this
 "confidence, his Royal Highness trusts, that the
 "soldiers of both nations will confine their senti-
 "ments of resentment and abhorrence to the Na-
 "tional Convention alone; persuaded that they
 "will be joined in them by every Frenchman,
 "who possesses one spark of honour, or one prin-
 "ciple of a soldier."

It is easy to impose upon ourselves by *names*. What is here stiled the *infatuation* of the *French* people by his Royal Highness, another man, not so feelingly convinced of what our poet pleasantly denominates

“The right divine of kings to govern wrong;”

will be inclined to call the most glorious inflammation of liberty, that was ever kindled in so great a nation, since the foundation of the world. An infatuation indeed of no ordinary kind is operating at this moment, not in *France*, but in the breasts of *Englishmen*; once the votaries of freedom, and assertors of the rights of man. Alas! how changed! This degenerate race can view, not with tameness only, but approbation, that suspension of laws, which makes them slaves of arbitrary power: they can contemplate with inactivity and unconcern the magnanimous struggles of the *Poles* for life and liberty against two of the most profligate tyrants, that were ever let loose to scourge mankind*: they can hate, defame, and persecute,

* Let me state a case of the most sublimated wickedness on record. The King of *Prussia*, one of the *Lord's anointed* forsooth! according to the preponderance of *French* or *English* money, shall bring, or not, 40,000 ruffians into the field to butcher, and be butchered, to all the extent of a sanguinary warfare, in a cause, which he himself in a public memorial declares to be *hopeless*!—“Hear, O! heavens; and give ear, O! earth.” Now is it to be supposed, that the supreme Being will favour the co-operation of *Great Britain* with such a spotless ally for the bribery of *two fasts* only? By no means. Our ministers should lose no time in issuing another proclamation for prayer and supplication, to the merciful Father of us all;

persecute, in the midst of poverty and distress, occasioned by ministerial prodigality and corruption, the friends of constitutional reformation; men, whose primary object is the moral and political melioration of the lower orders of society, depressed by the arrogance and injustice of the reigning system to the ignominious condition of a mere brutish multitude. Which now, I pray you, is the cause of God and man? *English* loyalty, or *French* infatuation?

His Royal Highness was not aware, what an awkward lesson of obedience to superiors in general he was dictating to his army, when he recommended this "abhorrence of the national convention." The partisans of our ministry may well endure, I should think, the attachment of another people to governours of any possible description: and whatever systematical deception may deem it prudent to maintain, it is an uncontrovertible proposition, ascertained by the report of travellers, and demonstrated by the language and conduct of the republican prisoners among us, that the devotion of the *French* to the proceedings of the convention, and to the cause in which they are engaged, is cordial and unanimous beyond all previous credibility in a people so numerous, and so disciplined to despotism: and, if corroboration were necessary to this assertion, that they may enjoy, with all possible expedition, the benefit of clergy in this emergency.

the

the vigour of their armies supplies an additional proof, sufficiently intelligible to the feelings of their adversaries. To pretend, that a million of armed men are compelled to fight at the will of a few despotic demagogues against their own inclination, is a most preposterous and shameless asseveration. If, as the treasury prints assert, the *French* are driven to the attack by the point of the bayonet, I wish to know, who drives on the drivers? The *tortoise* may support the *elephant*, that supports the globe; but what shall support the *tortoise*? No: the national convention, to speak with perfect moderation, is as truly the government of *France*, as a King and Parliament are the government of this country; and, as such, is entitled to the obedience and respect of their electors. All incitement to rebellion against this authority is extremely reprehensible and indecorous; and would leave our preceptors of disobedience without excuse for punishing the practitioners of such doctrines against themselves*.

But to talk of “the honour and principle of a soldier,” whose occupation, for the most part, is entirely made up of rapine, blasphemy, blood,

* They should bear in mind the old maxim—

πολλοι μαθηται κρειττονες διδασκαλων:

Many scholars are better than their masters.

and

and carnage, reminds one of the self-importance of the h——e t——s in the fable: “How we APPLES swim!” Such heterogeneous incompatible phrases should be banished eternally from the languages of men, who pride themselves in the name of *Christians*. Small indeed is the number of the warrior tribe, since the creation of the world, who might not be denominated with infinitely more propriety *the murderers of mankind*; and, instead of titles and applauses, when alive, and pyramidal sepulchres after death, should not have died, like malefactors, on a gibbet, and have been consigned, name and carcase, to rottenness and infamy.

Thus far, whilst the pointed sword is suspended over reformation and liberty of speech, have I ventured my animadversions on these orders of “his Royal Highness;” but without one sentiment of personal ill-will to him or any being in the universe, whether kings, ministers, or vulgar; whose happiness without distinction I desire with unceasing aspirations, and will promote with undaunted industry by every pacific and gentle means to the utmost extent of my ability. It is an eternal truth, which I most solemnly recommend to the serious observance of my countrymen, that *persecution* is a certain proof of a vile and wicked cause. Rectitude and virtue shine forth with irresistible and uncontaminated lustre: they are secure
of

of over-powering opposition by their own intrinsic brightness. They contemplate pains, penalties, imprisonment, and exile, as the atrocious implements of despairing wickedness *, with indignation and abhorrence. The clear unpolluted fountain admits the beam of light without reluctance, and rejoices in it, as a mean of exhibiting the transparency of it's own bosom; but the putrid and muddy pool, as if conscious of it's pollutions, rejects the searching radiance from it's very surface.—Besides, we are advertised, on the authority of a great apostle, that “all, who will live godly in Christ Jesus †,”—who are resolved to proclaim the doctrines of humanity and religion in opposition to domineering vice, “shall suffer persecution.” *Newgate* and *New-Holland* will bear testimony to this truth, in conjunction with the *cup* of *Socrates* and the *cross* of *Jesus*. But shall the world, or the terrors of the world, appall an advocate of religion and humanity on his post of duty? Benevolence to the human race, in imitation of the universal Giver of all good, is an obligation paramount and antecedent to political engagements and local institutions. Our efforts to impede the devastations of war and slaughter, no seductions should enfeeble; no menaces, no

* Ου πρῶως ἀκυστῖν οἱ δυνατταὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα. Demetrius Phalereus.

† 2 Tim. iii. 12,

feverities, intimidate: especially, when the alternative of the present conflict appears in our eyes pregnant with unlimited and unparalleled calamity to the future condition of mankind. Should the confederacy prevail to the fullness of their wishes against the French, it will become an exertion of the most meritorious resignation to the will of God not to dispute a providential protection of his creatures. Nothing, on this side the grave, will remain for the genuine sons of freedom, if personal liberty be conceded us, but removal to another hemisphere;

Some safer world in depths of woods embrac'd,
Some happier island in the wat'ry waste*.

Yes: we will prefer a solitary communication with God and Nature, with an expanse of sky and a world of waters, on some insulated rock,

——cœlum undique et undique pontus,

to the contagious atmosphere of an enslaved city. But, blessed be his name! the Ruler of the universe has not so consulted the well-being of his creatures. The sun of liberty SHALL NOT set upon the earth. Our gloom is already broken with a beam of unresisted brightness. These rampant and re-

* Certum est in silvis, inter spelæa ferarum,
Malle pati. VIRGIL.

doubtable cavaliers, whom infatuation fondly expected to be thundering by this time at the gates of *Paris*, after trampling in the dust those vile republicans in a domineering progress of unexampled impetuosity under Colonel *Quack**, are checked at the very commencement of their career: and the most numerous and best appointed armies, that ever deluged the earth with *Christian* blood, are happy to secure themselves, amidst the capture of their towns and the desolation of their provinces, in strong entrenchments, from the vengeance of despicable *Sans-Culottes*! What sagacity of man shall undertake to predict the precise termination of a tumult, without example for importance and extent? This termination, however, of such alarming moment, we are waiting with inexpressible solicitude: resolved alike to acquiesce in the chastisement of the Almighty, or to extol his goodness; to weep over the enthrallment of our species, or exult in their redemption!

Little-Hampton, Suffex,

June 20th, 1794.

* Actum, inquit, nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
Frangimus, et mediâ ponamus signa suburrâ.





